PROPAGANDA

How to Recognize It and Deal with It

Experimental Unit of Study Materials
in Propaganda Analysis for Use in
Junior and Sensor High Schools

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The Teacher's Guide to Encouraging a Scientific Study
of Propaganda Among Young People

I. The Social Aspects of Propaganda

What Is Propaganda?

Disputes frequently arise over the question of what propaganda "really is." Usually the disputants are agreed what the word must have a "true" meaning, though they often disagree as to what that meaning is. Only rarely do they seem to recognize that the word has a wide range of senses and that disputes usually arise from different individuals or groups especially favoring one of these.

In addition to its having a wide range of senses the word propaganda also carries with it the suggestion that anything to which it is applied is bad, The result is that many people would object to the word's being used describe attempts to persuade others to adopt beliefs and modes of action of which they themselves strongly approved, but they would be very ready to use the word of attempts to persuade others to adopt beliefs and modes of action that they disliked.

But even when people are persuaded to give their attention to the sense of the word as opposed to its condemnatory force, considerable disagreement would be likely o appear. Disagreement would show itself as soon as it s suggested that the word could not be used of attempts to change a belief or feeling without regard to the practical consequences in action, or that it could not be used of attempts to persuade people to believe what was very generally recognized as true and to act in ways that were generally accepted as right.

Wide agreement could be found for the view that the word propaganda can be properly used to refer to conscious attempts to influence others irrespective of whether the appeal is made to the intellect or to the emotions; whether the propagandist is sincere or insincere; whether his motives are selfish or altruistic; whether his power as a propagandist depends upon conscious calculation or comes from some unconscious force.

The most conspicuous disagreements would arise over questions of whether the word could be properly used to refer to methods that were adopted to influence beliefs or feelings; to persuade people of what was generally accepted as true (however doubtful in fact) and to do what was generally approved of (however much a minority might disapprove); to influence the beliefs and actions of others by a single individual did not stand for a group or an organization.

The relation of beliefs to action is by no means a simple one. People often change their beliefs without any appreciable change of behavior, while they sometimes adopt new forms of behavior without appreciable change in their beliefs. A further problem arises over the relation of belief to verbal statement. People often do not believe what they say they believe. There is the popular distinction between "lip service" and "true belief."

Reflection upon these problems would be likely to lead most people who wanted to define the word propaganda more forcibly and to emphasize the ends which it seeks to accept some definition as the following: “Propaganda is the attempt to influence others to some predetermined end appealing to their thought or feelings.”

Lumley suggests that propaganda has arisen whenever there is conflict in society.[1] If conflict leads to propaganda and pressure, then history must have been very much influenced by these factors. Doob outlines what he considers to be the approach of the sociologist when he states that propaganda to the sociologist is either a means of social control or a method by which an individual or a group works for his or their own interest.[2] the social psychologist, he says, defines propaganda by stressing the effect it has on an individual in terms of an "assumed psychological propensity of these individuals." is a matter of fact, the sociologist must not only consider the effect of propaganda on individuals; he must determine the possible effect on society.

1 Lumley, F.E., The Propaganda Menace, p. 157

2 Doob, L.W., Propaganda, p. 73

The Role of Propaganda in the Modern World

Society owes its stability as well as the permanence of its traditions to the processes through which young people are taught to accept the customs, beliefs, and values of their parents and of other members of the society with whom they come into contact. The aim of parents is to teach their children how to 1ive according to the manners and standards in which the parents believe. Insofar as their efforts are directed to this specific end, parents may be described as propagandists though ordinarily they would not be recognized as such.

It has been chiefly in periods of rapid social change, and especially during the rise of industrialism, that propaganda has become conspicuous. Progression from a feudal society, in which each person recognized his station in 1ife, to an expanding society, in which many new groups arose, brought attendant conflicts. The rising merchant class found its group interests thwarted in various ways by the social, political, and economic forms of an earlier period. There was much opposition for them to overcome in advancing their group interests. This opposition was overcome in part by their increasing economic power, but it was important that they should succeed in winning others to their support through changing their ideas. The rising group is concerned with bringing those whose interests are the same as theirs to realize this. It is also concerned with trying to persuade others whose interests are in fact diverse that they are nevertheless the same.

In the early industrial period there were conflicts of interests between rival minority groups such as the landowners and the industrialists. The conflicts were resolved largely through propaganda which showed the warring groups their common interests and how important these were. The propaganda was carried on through conversation, through speeches, and through books. The masses of the people were illiterate, and their social grievances generally found explicit statement only through spoken words. The propagandas to which the working population were subject during the early part of the nineteenth century came, on the one hand, from the social reformer who sought to change the existing feudal structure that industrialism might freely develop, and, on the other, from the leaders of church and state who believed that it was to their interests to maintain the older civilization.

The advance of industrialism demanded that the population should be made literate. In Europe the chief movement toward popular education came from those who saw that an illiterate population could not efficiently operate the new machinery that was being introduced. These influences played their part in America, though they were very materially reinforced by the fact that it was so

easily possible for people to rise in social and economic position if they had education—a fact which naturally led them to demand popular education. In addition, there was the realization that our democratic ideals could not be realized without universal education.

An important result of the spread of literacy was that the masses of the people became accessible to propaganda through the printed word. This followed closely on the development of democracy which gave equal representation to the male population with, of course, the exception of Negroes. In this phase political parties began to rely on the press as a means of gaining support for their particular doctrines and for persuading people to support their particular movements. At the same time, there was considerable increase of wealth brought about by the expansion of industry, and markets became flooded with all manner of new commodities. It became possible for newspapers to be sold at a fraction of their production cost owing to the economic support which they derived from advertisers who used them as a means of making their products known to the public and as a means whereby they could persuade people to buy them.

During this period—in which we live—the contending factions both in politics and in commerce become more numerous and enter more heartily into competition with one another. The success of the advertiser, besides depending on the quality of his product and on its cheapness, depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of his methods of advertisement. Similarly the success of a political party comes to depend not only on its achievements or on the practicability of its promises it also on the efficiency of its methods of propaganda.

The advances of technology have provided further instruments whereby the advertisers or the politicians or the members of other groups and movements are able to appeal to the public. The coming of photography, followed by processes of block-printing, followed in turn by photogravure and color processes, have enable the propagandists and especially the commercial advertiser to make their appeals more effective by appealing directly to visual

imagery instead of having to rely on the symbolic medium of words. A picture of a family enjoying themselves by the sea shore is much more powerful in arousing a desire to go to the sea shore than is a description—even a lyrical one. The picture has further force in that it appeals more effectively to those whose literary education has not proceeded very far. circulation figures of the two tabloid newspapers in New York City exceed those of the other six papers combined. Words are only capable arousing vivid images amongst people of wide reading, reading

experiences which they have learned to relate to the situations to which the words refer.

Further extensions of technology have provided the motion picture, and later the talking picture, which, although it suffers from the disadvantage that it can only be operated in special halls, can nevertheless be very effective as an instrument of political propaganda. Study of current news reels and of features such as "The March of Time" shows the propaganda potentialities of the sound picture. In California those potentialities were actually realized when Upton Sinclair was defeated for governor largely because of news reel propaganda. Here we might remind ourselves that it is only easy for us to recognize as propaganda that which diverges conspicuously from a generally accepted tradition. Most of what we see in our motion picture theaters is propaganda in effect, tending to preserve the status quo by perpetually reasserting traditional values and ideals.

Advances in technology have also brought the radio which provides a means whereby the advertiser and politician can talk to millions at their firesides. Here again the appeal being made in terms of everyday speech is capable of appealing to people irrespective of the extent and thoroughness of their literary education. Through this medium the demagogue and the statesman have re-assumed some of the power that they lost through enormous increases in the population and in the growth of political units.

The Role of Propaganda in a Democracy

The advance of technology brought about the development of large scale industry, which, in its turn, made conflicts within modern society greater, and propagandas sharper. Today, we see numerous conflicts within our society—conflicts between groups of workers and groups of owners, between groups of workers and other groups of workers, between groups of owners and other groups of owners, between farmers and consumers, between workers and farmers, between farmers and manufacturers.

The growth of technology also made modern society more complicated, more subject to dislocation and to periods of depression, unemployment, and starvation—effects which are responsible for the growing conflicts within society.

But technology is largely responsible also for the development of democracy within the United States. First, technological expansion demanded and fed upon literacy—literacy among millions of workers. The development of the public school system of this country answered a growing technology's demand for literate men and women. Secondly, e rapid advance of technology broke down class differences; During expansion of the last one hundred years and more, American workers found it easy to rise from one class to another. A shoemaker or a shoe salesman could become in the space of half a lifetime the owner of a great chain of stores; a bricklayer, the leading banker of the Northwest.

In previous periods the demands of so-called lower classes could be disregarded; they had no power, and, moreover, they "knew their place." The literacy of the American people brought them power as workers, as consumers, and as voters. Their growing power and their literacy, both attributable to the advance of technology, contributed to the growth of propaganda efforts and techniques. Today, powerful propaganda appeals are made for their support—as workers, as consumers, as voters

In a democracy such as the United States there is a battle of propagandas—a "free for all' with many groups fighting for supremacy in commercial, political, religious, and social areas. Every four years in presidential election campaigns we see the political battle dramatized— a battle for control of great blocs of votes. One of the chief weapons used to gain the support of these millions of votes is propaganda.

Just as propaganda is the chief weapon in an election campaign so it is in labor-capital conflicts. For example, victory for an employer in a strike often depends upon his success in rallying other groups in society to his support by propaganda. He often uses propaganda to discredit the strikers. Likewise, victory for employees

in a strike usually depends upon their success in rallying other groups to their support by propaganda against employers and by creating public opinion and action sympathetic to their demands and program.

However, conflicts between capital and labor are not always, even in a democracy, settled by the free flow of propaganda. Lack of money to support a propaganda campaign may intervene; the government may sometimes act as “referee”; force, at other times, may be resorted to.

But generally the success of either side depends upon two things: (1) the success of their propagandas; and (2) material conditions in and through which their propagandas operate. In this respect material conditions may be considered to be propaganda. For example, in itself a period of depression often operates as propaganda. The interaction of material conditions and the propaganda of organized groups may be illustrated in the following instance:

The City Projects Council in New York City, a part of the great national unemployment relief program, in 1956 prepared slips for their members to give to merchants and shopkeepers when they paid for purchases. Upon these slips was printed the information that the money paid for articles was "relief" money. Thus, the Council attempted to show the shopkeeper the direct relationship between his sales, their buying, and government spending, and to rally him to its side—to the continuance of government aid. Their purpose was to show the merchant the unity of interest which existed between them, the unemployed workers, and himself, a representative of the middle class.

A period of depression such as that which led up to President Roosevelt's national unemployment program brought the working people and the middle classes—merchants and farmers—into closer agreement concerning their economic welfare. On the whole they agreed upon the necessity of a large government unemployment spending program.

In contrast with a democracy is the fascist state where propaganda is a weapon reserved solely by the state. The state has exclusive use of that weapon; it is a government monopoly. Nazi Germany, for example, uses that weapon to gain adherence to its program. Groups in German society whose interests are hurt by the Nazi program cannot appeal to other groups. The government does not permit any propaganda, any opposition, to its own propaganda. It even bans radio reception of propagandas from other countries.

In the totalitarian countries of the world—Germany, Italy, and Russia—propaganda is backed by force. We sometimes find the combination of propaganda and force

even in a democracy. Occasionally, during; the last few years in the United States the mayor of a city or the governor of a state in which a strike was going on has reinforced the propaganda of either the strikers or the employers by exerting his executive powers, backed by the power of the police or of the National Guard. Whenever this occurs, propaganda in a democracy takes on a resemblance to the propaganda of fascism.

Propaganda is undemocratic in two other respects in the United States: first, in the sense that those individuals or groups in American society who have the most money can obtain the best facilities through which to carry on their propaganda—full page advertisements in papers and magazines are costly; "time on the air" is beyond the financial resources of many individuals and groups; and, secondly, through censorship of some propagandas. Censorship and force are closely allied in practice and in anti-democratic action. The two usually go hand in hand. In the United States we saw this combination in the late Huey Long's domain of Louisiana. The application of any kind of force, such as censorship, is a movement away from democracy.

It has been argued by some that the multitude of conflicting propagandas in a democracy makes for confusion and, consequently, inaction—especially when immediate action is needed. And it certainly is true that democracies are slower to act than are the totalitarian states, where the wishes of one man—or one small group of men—is final, despite what the citizens of those states may desire. This, however, is the price we must pay for democracy. We don't act as quickly—but, theoretically at least, when we do act, it is in accordance with the decisions of the great majority of the people—decisions reached after the people have had the opportunity freely to consider all sides of the question, all propagandas.

As has been pointed out, for one reason or another this does not always work out in practice; but it's the major job of the schools to see that it does.

Desirability of Making Young People Critical of Authority and Able to Recognize Propaganda

It may be said that education, though it has taught people to read and to write, though it has given them knowledge of many subjects, including scientific subjects, has not produced in young people a critical attitude towards what they are told or towards the authorities which claim their adherence.

The lag between man's power to perceive things and events more clearly is especially striking in contrast with his increasing power to control his physical and material surroundings. In order to satisfy his needs and desires man has achieved

such advances as: from cave to modern home; from shell-fish eater, hunter, herder, and nomad to farmer, factory workman, and manufacturer; from ox-cart to airplane; from horse and buggy to streamlined motor car; from the dug-out canoe to the Queen Mary.

Correspondingly, there should be constant increase in man’s power to perceive things and events more completely.

Consider: the perceptive power of scientific instruments used in systematic investigation; how the perceptive power of people today has been increased by books, newspapers, telephones, cables, radio, the microscope, the telescope, and by television to a limited extent. Historical increase in perception may be measured by compering the increasing perception of "the earth" by: medieval peoples, Columbus, Jefferson, Perry, the modern cartographer, the geologist.

Actually, however, there is a great lag between physical changes and man's realization and understanding of them, and there is an even greater lag between changing conditions in the world and man's adjustment of his actions to them. The better able he is to adjust his ideas and actions to changes in his world and in economic and social organization, the better is he adjusting himself to "present" reality. When he does not make these adjustments he is trying to handle present and future set-ups with ideas and actions engendered by and adapted to a different set-up. In this connection it has been said that tradition becomes his guide and his god, and reason a villain and a traitor.

Young people should come to know such elementary facts as the following: propaganda plays a role of enormous importance in the lives of all of us. There are many of these propagandas; our nation and the world teem with them and with their conflict. They come from organized groups or representatives of organized groups. They touch every aspect of our lives. Chiefly, they are commercial, political, religious. They often determine the brand of toothpaste we use, the kind of clothes we wear, the school we attend, what we think and do about President Roosevelt's New Deal measures, the election of a candidate for mayor of our city, or war in China or Spain. We are fed propagandas by our political parties, our schools, our churches, our clubs, our newspapers and magazines, our radios and motion pictures, and even by our textbooks.

Anything done along the lines of making young people critical of vague statements or of the authorities which claim their support, makes important contributions towards their increasing perception of the world in which they live. If young people come to understand the role which propaganda plays in their lives—and the lives of

all peoples in modern society—the lag in man's perceptive power will be appreciably lessened.

The effect of propaganda on an uncritical audience jeopardizes democracy in that it opens the way to a fascist demagogue. Propagandists use the misleading tricks they do because they know that these tricks will work. They would not work if people were educated to challenge and to question—to make distinctions between propaganda and evidence, between propaganda and authority, between propaganda and end results. To do this it is important that girls and boys should know that the propaganda devices depend upon:

1. Lack of precision in speech. Young people should be able to ask, "What does this mean? What is this particular claim asserting?" For example, when they are asked such a question as, "Are the Japanese an inferior race?", they should refuse to answer because of the vagueness of the stated question. Instead, they should ask, "Inferior? How? In stature? In mentality? In culture? In economic status?" They can compare such a question with familiar advertising slogans such as “Beer is best." What is meant by "best"? "Best" for what? Why is it "best"?
2. The lack of evidence. When young people are -ed such questions as "Ave Negroes move intelligent than white persons?", they should realize that they are only justified in whatever ideas they may hold if they know the evidence, the figures and statistics—or if they know the authority for such statements. And, the authority too should be scientifically questioned.

Such an approach leads on to some examinations of authority, to criteria of "good" authorities. Some suggested criteria are:

1. Is the authority scientific in his methods; that is, does he begin with hypotheses, which he holds only as hypotheses until they are documented by research—facts, figures, statistics;
2. Does the authority have any important self-interest at stake? He may have and remain a good authority, but the fact of an important self-interest often operates to discount his authoritativeness.

General acceptance of an authority by laymen is not a sound criterion. Fashionable authorities may be made fashionable through propaganda itself. Through publicity in the media of the printed and spoken word and through the psychological effects of repetition, a person of limited ability and mediocre knowledge in a particular field may become accepted by great numbers of people as an authority. However, if a person is generally recognized as an expert by others in his particular field, there

is reason to accept him as an authority. His colleagues who have the knowledge to evaluate and judge his findings, his writing, his speeches, have checked and rechecked them

II. Propaganda Analysis

Interests to Which Propagandists Appeal
How Appeals Are Made

Whatever his purpose, the propagandist appeals to people's interests and desires, as well as to their antipathies and fear. Even if he wishes to change any of these eventually, he must start by appealing to others. For example, the German people desire economic well-being. However, Nazi propagandists have largely convinced them of the necessity of suppressing this desire by appealing to another desire—the wish for national power and prestige. The German people were told that they must make a choice between "guns or butter."

Many of our desires and antipathies arise directly from our being the kind of creatures we are biologically. We find satisfaction in such things as breathing, eating, and loving. We find pain in injury to our bodies, in disease, and in restriction of our movement. We only actively desire the things that bring us dissatisfaction when we are without them, while we only become actively antipathetic to things that are painful when we feel there is likelihood of their hurting us. We don't as a rule feel hunger until we are without food. Nor do we as a rule feel fear until we believe there is something that may hurt us.

The form in which such desires express themselves, as well as the conditions under which we seek their satisfaction, is largely determined for us by environmental factors. Thus, environment gives us a preference for certain kinds of food and for eating at a table with a knife and fork rather than on the floor mat with our fingers. It also plays a part in determining what we are frightened of, as well as in the shaping of our responses to the things that we find frightening. Environment also establishes in us new desires, such as the desire for tobacco or the desire for certain modes of dress; it may also set up new antipathies. The two are, moreover, closely associated. We are all, to some extent, liable to resent things that disturb a settled manner of living and to desire the things that would restore it when once it has been disturbed. We often hear praise and longing for return to “the good old days.” Nevertheless, new desires are constantly developing, and the process of growing up may be regarded as a process in which desire is constantly expanding. As with the desires that have a hereditary and biological origin (the instincts of human beings) the desires that are set up through environmental conditions are only conspicuous when the means of satisfying them are not present. Our behavior as well as our wants and ideals, which we may regard as our "long range" wants, become shaped by environment, partly: by our being given things that enter into our habits and

which we come not to want to be without; by our seeing other people apparently enjoying or disliking things that we therefore come to want, or not to want; by our being encouraged by approval or discouraged by disapproval when we act in particular was; by our being told things are good or bad. Here what we are told depends for its effect much more on how it is said than upon what is said. The emotive or the threatening power of speech makes effective what is said. When the orator's voice throbs with “the intensity its feelings” we are usually affected. Some of the of behavior we acquire through the environment in which we grow up are characteristic of the society to which we belong. Others are characteristic only of the particular group or groups to which we belong within society. Some arise from the particular combinations of circumstances to which we have been subject. others arise from our own creative impulses, though it is impossible to distinguish these from the emotive or threatening power of what is said to us, from our being told things are good or bad. What we show ourselves to want in our behavior does not always tally with what we say we want, or even with what we believe ourselves to want. This arises from two main causes. The first is that the traditions of behavior in which we are brought up are in some important respects in conflict with innate desires. Witness, for example, the taboos placed upon sex, even upon speaking of sex. The second is that the verbal traditions, from which we accept our ideas of what we want, in many respects are quite out of accord with the practical wants encouraged by the practical traditions embodied in our social life, People who profess to adhere to the ideals of the Gospels may in practice be activated by highly acquisitive motives, while people who are quite ignorant of the ideals of the Gospels may in fact follow them rather closely. Many propagandists owe their effectiveness to their recognition that they can appeal to wants that people have, but which they do not consciously recognize— to all that the psychologists would include in the term "the unconscious." Such correspondence as there is between what people say they want and what they show by their actions they want, comes about as much through practice being rationalized end finding expression in words as through moral maxims finding their expression in practice. People's behavior is only in part changed through the actions of others whose actions are deliberately aimed at producing given results. It may also influenced by changing material conditions, to which people adjust their wants, and by the changed behavior of others, which contains no intention to change theirs. When a child who goes visiting finds himself in a household of people who have no other expectation but that he will behave well, he usually responds accordingly. Deliberate attempts to influence the behavior of others may take the form of changing external conditions or of appealing to people’s conscious or unconscious desires. Attempts of this second kind are called

propaganda. When they fail, the first is sometimes resorted to. When the propaganda of the Nazi party in Germany fails, recalcitrant citizens are shut off from their world in concentration camps. These two means of changing people's behavior are not sharply distinct, and there is a gradual transition from persuasion through to threats of violence. It is important in our study of propaganda to examine the main interests and desires to which propaganda appeals. Some of them we may call innate; others are the result of environment. Prom the point of view of the propagandist the origin of desires is unimportant; his sole concern is that the desires should be present in the people to whom he is appealing. Among the most important are:

Positive (Pleasure)	Negative (Pain)
To be popular To be with the crowd Sex To get as much as possible for as little effort (efficiency), or to get as much_as possible for as little money (economy) as possible Luxury Appetite Curiosity	Fear of old age Fear of disease (of pain) Fear of being left out of Fear of being poor Fear of being ugly Fear of social disapproval

Such a list is necessarily rather arbitrary and presents a similar problem to that of drawing up a list of instincts. In addition to these, there are the interests characteristic of particular groups or individuals. These demand special methods of propaganda. We may flatter people's conceit by "individual" or "exclusive" appeals, as do many commercial advertisements, but this method is not individual at all. To deal with these persons as they individually are we have to use canvassers to determine their special interests, and "perceptive" ones at that. Propaganda can appeal to desire. It can seek to change desire. It can appeal to the senses to awaken new desires, whether positive desire to attain something or negative desire to avoid something. Propagandists can make appeals to desire either directly or indirectly. Propagandists appeal directly by saying "Here is what you want; buy it; vote for it," or they appeal indirectly by saying or implying, "Here is the means of getting what

you want; buy it; vote for it." To convince people of this contention they may rely upon verified facts or else upon testimony of alleged experts whom they would have recognized as being authoritative. Other indirect appeals might be of this nature: "This is like what you want, but cheaper; buy it," or "This is the opposite of what you want; avoid it." They can also be made through psychological connections —associations which are based not upon reason but which are the result of emotions. Words are related to a whole complex of ideas and emotions in this kind of association. Use of symbols, such as the flag of a nation or the cross of the Church, as means of persuasion, comes under this heading. Not only do propagandists appeal to people through their present associations, but they also attempt to create new associations. Many new psychological connections are created through repetition, "When better cars are made Buick will make them. Whenever you see a letter box think of a Waterman fountain pen." The most effective radio advertising is the constant repetition of the name of the advertised product, regardless of the context in which the name is presented. Gracie Allen in the Campbell's tomato juice program sang little songs in which the name would be injected as often as possible —"Roses are red, violets are blue, sugar is sweet, and I like Campbell's tomato juice." The object was to make the listeners automatically think of Campbell's when they think of tomato juice. Most attempts to build up associations are attempts to build up emotional associations and so to confuse a desire for one thing with that for another. For example, many magazines have photographs of pretty girls on their covers; many advertisements show people enjoying themselves in a manner and in a setting which may be entirely unrelated to products advertised. Propaganda seeks to change desire: (1) By direct emotional influence. This is the most effective when the attempt to persuade is by the spoken word. The orator can arouse fear and male people abandon their existing desires and desire something different. This direct emotional influence includes the use of words and other symbols, as well as tones of voice and gesture, which have direct emotive effect. Powerful in their emotional effect are such words as home, mother, democracy, freedom, and God. (2) By rational methods, for example, by asserting that a particular action aimed at realizing certain desire will have further consequences that are unpleasant, (3) By creating a distraction which will make people forget what they wanted. For example, opponents may be weakened by encouraging amongst them an interest in horse racing as in England, or in opium as by the Japanese in China. (4) By appealing to authority. "All the best people do this; they know." This appeal does not necessarily assume that the people who are to be persuaded want to identify themselves with the best people, although they may. If it does, this appeal belongs

with appeal to desire: "If you buy this, which the best people buy, you will become, in one respect at least, one of them."

Propaganda can seek to awaken new desires in the same ways in which it seeks to change desire. Propaganda may appeal directly to our imagination through the use of pictures, samples, or exhibitions. It may also appeal indirectly through either written or spoken words. The spoken word is more powerful in its emotional effect than the written word. Both may serve as means of misrepresentation and thus provide much greater scope for propagandizing than the picture.

Propaganda appeals to the senses. Through the eye it appeals by means of the printed word, still and motion pictures, color, and impressionism. Through the ear it appeals by means of the spoken word, music, and standards of taste. Through the nose it appeals to our sense of smell. Propagandas appealing to the senses come to us from almost every media—the printed word in newspapers, magazines, books, and billboards; the spoken word of the public speaker, the radio speaker, music of hall, radio, stage, and screen, pictures in newspapers, magazines, on billboards, and on the motion picture screen. Color, action, and composition of pictures of all kinds appeal to people's senses. We must not hope to escape from the influence of propaganda., In its role of informing us of what there is that we might like, or in telling us of how we may attain more easily what we already would like, and how to avoid what we would not like, it is performing a useful function. The development of our tastes is inevitably directed to a large extent through the suggestion of others. What we want people to be proof against is their being led by some form of misrepresentation or through some false claim to follow a course of action different from that they would follow if they were more fully informed. The following is a list of propaganda devices or appeals that we may call bad: (1) Misrepresenting the facts. Testing of some of the appeals and claims of commercial advertising. for. example, may reveal misstatements, lies by indirection, and downright lies. Patent medicines promise long life, beauty, and great strength; (2) Bad argument. This consideration may bring us to the realization that the reader of an advertisement, for example, participates in the formation of the advertiser's message. He is involved as an ally. A toothpaste advertisement attempts to recommend a product by printing a picture of the package along with a picture of a scientist in a laboratory holding up a test tube. Appeal is reduced to a mongrel form of argument: "You trust science; this article is a product of science; therefore, you should trust this article." In this kind of appeal the power of suggestion may be considered as a kind of implied syllogism that gains its strength through being implicit rather than explicit. Inasmuch as the syllogism is merely implied, the reader approaches it "creatively." He is invited to tell himself something precisely because the writer of

the advertisement has not completed the statement. It is as if the advertisement were to count up to six, and the reader, getting the cue, "creatively" proceeds to supply seven. (In searching for variants of this kind of implicit syllogism which calls upon participation of people, teachers and students may find it helpful to refer to the November issue of the monthly letter of The Institute for Propaganda Analysis. In it are listed seven propaganda devices based upon popular use of the implicit syllogism and upon irrational persuasion which should prove particularly helpful in study of the political speech or public address.); (3) Bad authority. Authorities may assert connections that are true or false; when they assert connections which are false or when upon examination they show themselves not to be authorities, it follows that do not accept their testimonials or them as authoritative sources for information. Acceptance of an authority because he is fashionable—whether he is a psychologist, a physician, an economist, or a political party leader – is to accept a dubious authority.

Interests Served by Propaganda

Interests served by propaganda are as varied as the groups and group-interests within our society. In a democracy these interests are manifold. People are trying to get us to do many things. Again, an arbitrary classification serves to show a few of the interests served by propaganda. They are: commercial interests through advertising of all kinds, including pressagentry, "big business" public relations, and "made" news by publicity men or companies; community interests through campaigns of many kinds for the extension of public health or civic improvement; political interests, diverse in nature and appeals and extending from election campaigns for party candidates to control of economic factors and conditions; religious interests through campaigns for church subscriptions to active legislative lobbies for peace and certain kinds of legislation. Other interests served by propaganda include prohibition, women's suffrage, legal reforms, and charity. Some of these may be linked with interest groups listed above, but the important thing to remember is that appeals are always to get people to "do something.” The commercial advertiser urges us to buy his product; the community drive for public health wants citizens to act in a particular way—obey health regulations; political interest groups say "vote for me"; religious groups ask us to subscribe to the church or to a social program.

III. An Approach to the Study of Propaganda

Where It Is Best to Begin. Why?

Study of propaganda and its influence in the world should begin concretely with what girls and boys see and hear, with their own interests, and with the many appeals of organized groups to those interests. Our study works from scrutiny of examples of propaganda, such as the commercial advertisement or the political speech, to generalizations of how people's behavior is determined. Such study proceeds from the concrete, from study of evidence at hand, to the theoretical. It brings the student to inquire experimentally into the actual operations of propaganda. Its purpose is to lead him by the same method to discover principles of human conduct as they are revealed in techniques of propaganda. In such a search, through experimental methods, the student learns consciously to recognize propaganda, to evaluate means used by the propagandist, and to weigh the ends which the propagandists seek in terms of his own welfare and the welfare of society. He learns that all appeals are finally to interest through the emotions or the intellect—or both. Moreover, he learns that most propaganda appeals are made predominantly to people's irrationality rather than to their rationality, and why this is so. He recognizes that such a study as this emphasizes the need to recognize propaganda for what it actually is. He learns that the direct influence of scientific ideas and attitudes been so small that the underlying beliefs and attitudes inherited from pre-scientific times remain largely unaffected. He is encouraged to adopt scientific attitudes towards all questions of fact and to accept the conclusions to which they lead as a basis for action whether he likes them or not.

Commercial advertising, because of its observable character and high degree of persuasiveness, offers excellent material for the first section of our experimental study of propaganda. It lends itself to face-to-face study and annotation. Furthermore, in examining current advertisements students are not on unfamiliar ground; they are working with the "facts" of appeals to their interests. Their study leads them to ask:

What are the appeals used by toothpaste or fountain pen advertisements? What are the most recurrent, the most common appeals made? Do people respond to them? Why do people respond to them” What kind of people respond to them? What other appeals could have been employed? Why are certain other appeals not employed? Would people respond to them if they were? What kinds of people?

Young people in America have enough knowledge of the workings of the capitalist system in which they live and of the business men's point of view toward money to

know that a business man, or a large company, does not spend money for advertising unless he is tolerably sure to get returns on his investment. The business man advertises his products to increase their sales. Study of the cost of advertising in newspapers and magazines, of statistics which show the profits of advertising, brings students consciously to inquire why it is that people buy any number of products because certain common appeals are made to their interests.

Questioning such as this, in addition to bringing pupils to look as critically at advertisements as they would in a physics class at the generation and effects of heat, brings them to consider why they themselves respond to certain appeals, why they themselves "think and act as they do." Young people should know the differences between publications—between the advertising and reading content of those which appeal to more educated stratas of the population and those which are intended for the semi-educated masses. In the scientific and technical magazines, for example, advertisements will consist chiefly of expositions of products and equipment of all kinds.

By way of contract, advertisements in "movie" magazines, like those in most tabloid newspapers, will do little in the way of straightforward exposition; they will rely almost entirely upon appeals through emotions to the less educated millions in our society

Through study and analysis of advertisements and of reading and picture content in newspapers and magazines, students will find ample material from which to draw classifications of certain common appeals to people's interests. Furthermore, in studying advertisements in all types of publications—those directed at home circulation for the entire family, for women, for men, or girls and boys of high school age, for college students, motion picture magazines, sports magazines and newspaper sections, scientific and technical publications, and many others—they will be enabled to make groupings of common and special interests among people in our society.

The making of these classifications by students themselves should prove particularly helpful in bring them to consciously inquire why propaganda works and how propaganda works.

How to Use and Develop Materials In the Study of Propaganda

In pursuing a scientific approach to the study and analysis of current propagandas, the teacher will avoid handing down to students any "pat" definition of propaganda. To do so would be to destroy the experimental value of the study. Much of the educative process would be lost. The student would fail to get the fullest experience in examining and comparing meanings, in distinguishing just what is being said, in recognizing connections, in analyzing contexts. He would fail to get training in systematic comparison and discrimination, in recognition of a tendency to accommodate what he sees to a pre-formed view rather than to examine it for itself.

The teacher should not attempt to define propaganda for her students, but should use the word propaganda as a general term in common usage. To begin with, the teacher's interpretation of what is propaganda should be a loose one. Pupils' under standing of propaganda will grow as they study a generous number of advertisements, as they list appeals and "most common" appeals, as they make for themselves classifications of these appeals. In the process they will be working out their own definitions of propaganda experimentally. However, it is important that both teacher and students keep in mind as one of the ends of the course—the defining of propaganda—as they work toward expression of the principles involved in persuasion. The suggested analysis of propaganda given in the foregoing pages, its concrete approach, and much of the subject matter of the following study materials and exercises in Section IV of this unit of study should permeate all education. To emphasize this need The Institute for Propaganda Analysis recommends, in addition to other curriculum use of the material and its approach in social science, history, English, and journalism classes, the setting up of experimental units of study in propaganda analysis. Such units would serve:

1. to emphasize the present-day need for propaganda study;
2. to assist in developing greatly needed materials in this field for the use of both students and adults; and
3. to assist in the developing of new techniques of study and analysis and methods of evaluation—all urgently needed in the comparatively new study and analysis of propaganda.

Study materials and the approach to them, suggested in this unit, are by no means to be considered as "the final word," Frankly, they are experimental. They are of value only insofar as they show girls and boys how to use their environment, how to ma adjustments and adaptations, and to test every hypothesis with facts and scientific research. Each school and each group of students have their own

possibilities and their own limitations, Therefore must work out her study plans and pupil guidance in the light of these. All teachers by paying more attention to aspects of their subjects could do much to make people more critical of vague statements, while science teachers could help by giving young people a better sense of evidence and of authority. Anything done in these significant areas would make important contributions in giving young people a critical attitude toward what they are told, toward what they see and hear. Each group of students, of necessity, determines in large part its own curriculum. Of course, curriculum materials must show vision and take girls and boys as far as their interests honestly carry them, but a curriculum that tries to haul in subject matter which has nothing to do with the students' interest is artificial, confusing, and without educational value. It follows that it is not essential that each class or group give equal emphasis to all of the suggested materials and exercises. For example, a class in journalism or a student group interested in the high school newspaper might well begin with the advertisements which appear in their own and other school publications and progress to a more intensive study of the newspaper as one of the most important instruments of propaganda. Bibliography suggestions in this unit would supplement the outline suggested. Class work or group discussion work in propaganda analysis should pursue democratic methods of selection, discussion, and library and research work by individual students and by students working in committees. The teacher and her students in general conference should settle upon a plan of work. Students should select activities, from time to which they are most interested. Students ray volunteer for investigation projects suggested in exercises or for projects which they themselves suggest. Final assignments following each division of work may be made by a class committee. Class or group discussion should reflect the analytical approach of the study materials. Students, as well as the teacher, should be challenging and critical of suggestions and background material presented in the unit, as well as of the supplementary reading recommended in the bibliography. For example, an alert group of students should raise the question: "What is meant by a scientific way of forming an opinion?" Discussion would lead students to the making of three lists—one of reliable, one of questionable, one of unreliable bases for opinions and methods of expressing opinions; and, thus, into such consideration as: "Why it is always better to say—I believe thus and so because, rather than just I believe thus and so." In conducting work of propaganda analysis in the general fields of channels and instruments of persuasion, The Institute recommends that persons responsible for its introduction into the curriculum not only make adequate provision for library facilities but also for a continuous checking of pupil interests and desires, of changing interests and

desires, of study methods, of ways of thinking and attacking analysis of specific samples of persuasion, such as the advertisement or the political speech, and of response to the work done either individually or in groups. This can be done through keeping a record of each student's and of the group work, interests, desires, attitudes as the study in propaganda analysis proceeds. Records such as these will prove helpful to all teachers and persons interested in the development of propaganda study and analysis. Additional information concerning attitude tests to be given to students participating in the work of propaganda analysis will be sent upon request of the teacher. Selection, research, and experimentation in the field of testing by means of comparatively mew techniques, such as the writing of autobiographies, is being carried on by the Institute staff with the cooperation of psychologists, sociologists, classroom teachers, and guidance specialists. The Institute aims to serve as a clearing house for these materials. It welcomes the close cooperation of participating schools end particularly the suggestions, criticisms, and developmental materials from teachers and students participating in the use of these study materials in propaganda analysis.

IV Study Materials and Exercises in Propaganda Analysis

An Overview for High School Students

In the foregoing analysis of the social aspects of propaganda, in Division I, certain information and background materials are presented with the purpose of helping the teacher who is interested in the development of a study of propaganda in the classroom. It is equally important also that the student should have a preliminary analysis of the role of propaganda in the modern world, as well as some understanding of the role of propaganda a democracy and of the desirability of making all people in a democracy critical of authority and able to recognize and to deal with propaganda. In a general class the teacher may wish to follow much the same analyses as those in Divisions I, II, and III of this unit. In a particular class, such as a class in world history, or in civics or government, or in the social sciences, the teacher in preliminary classroom discussions may wish to bring out issues pertinent to the course of study, which at the same time will show the great importance of propaganda in modern society and, hence, the significance of a unit of study in propaganda is. In a class in world history a particularly revealing issue would be that of the World War with its attendant propagandas. In this connection, how the United States was drawn into the World War or the Spanish-American War through propaganda would make for a powerful and compelling interest on the part of girls and boys in the study of propaganda. In a civics or government class study of the great propaganda campaigns of the 1936 presidential election would reveal the importance of propaganda in American life. If students are familiar with a local election campaign for mayor or for councilmen, then such issues should be brought up in preliminary classroom discussions. Generally speaking the issue should be one with which students are somewhat familiar. Students should follow classroom discussions of these issues with study and reading, Bibliography references in Divisions V and VI attempt to supplement the work of general classes and of particular classes, such as those in history, science, social sciences, English, and Journalism.

The following study materials and suggested exercises for students in propaganda analysis deal with the commercial advertisement and the political speech or public address. They are designed to suggest to the teacher additional ways in which he can use the analyses presented in Divisions I, II, and III — in concrete procedures in the classroom. In using these suggested exercises, the Institute urges that the teacher refer again and again to the preliminary divisions and check their worth in

actual practice. These exercises are suggestive of what the teacher can do who works with the analyses of propaganda given in Divisions I, II, and III.

The Commercial Advertisement

A. Classifications of People's Interests According to Appeals Made in Commercial Advertisements

Student Assignments:

A Planter's peanut advertisement on the back cover page of Scholastic, the high school weekly magazine, uses half its space to picture an ice hockey game in action. (The players look like boys of high school age.) The page advertisement is captioned "There's nothing like HOCKEY for speed." Centered in the page is a vivid red arrow pointing to an opened bag of peanuts. Upon the red arrow is printed in bold black letters, "There's nothing like PLANTERS for flavor and energy." The low price of five cents is listed. So also is an offer of a FREE stamp collection and a big album—with pictures of the two commodities. Elsewhere on the advertisement are prominent captions, the comic trade-mark picture of "Mr. Peanut" and the slogan, "Nothing HITS THE SPOT like Planters." Many varieties and sizes of type are used, and the reader is told that "You can't have the kind of speed that wins in sports without energy. And that's what PLANTERS gives you—plus the delicious flavor of fresh, crisp, meaty salted peanuts. Try some now—and get your nickel's biggest buy."

1. What appeals are made in the advertisement? List them.
2. Thumb through six or seven other current magazines; Select ten advertisements. Consider each "ad" as a separate problem and list the appeals which you find,
3. What in your study do you find to be among the most recurrent appeals?
4. Do you think that people respond to these appeals? If so, why? If not, why not? What kinds of people respond to them, or do not respond to them”
5. To which appeals did you yourself respond” Try to tell why.

Discussion:

In analyzing a considerable number of advertisements it is advisable to make a 1list of appeals to certain common interests, to wants, to needs, to age groups, to social groups, to economic groups. One advertisement, for example, may show a boy thoroughly enjoying a ride on his new bicycle. Examination of the advertisement may yield four or five "direct interest" appeals, such as appeals to enjoyment, to age groups, to low economic groups.

In addition to listing "direct interest! appeals, you will find other appeals which we may call "indirect interest" appeals. (Note to teacher: See Division II for discussion

of "direct" and "indirect" appeals.) Look for these and list them. In the case of the boy-and-bicycle advertisement these appeals may be directed to "the desire to be liked" or to "getting something for nothing." (The advertisement may offer him a free book strap or satchel.) In an advertisement for toothpaste or clothing indirect appeals may be made to fear of ridicule, fear of group disapproval, desire for "social success," or to desire to be liked or loved. List others

Student Exercise:

1. Begin a work book which is also a scrapbook for the advertisements you have studied and for your own lists, classifications, and comments.
2. Devote a special section of the scrapbook to analysis of advertisements in magazines and newspapers designed for high school students' consumption.
3. List people's interests which were appealed to in the ten advertisements which you studied.
4. List methods used by advertisements to appeal to those interests.
5. Make the following classifications of appeals that you found:
 A. Direct interest appeals;
 B. In-direct interest appeals.
6. Make similar classifications for direct and indirect interest appeals which you find in advertisements in the following kinds of publications: for home circulation for the entire family; for farm women; for city women; for business men; for farmers; for those persons who love sports; for girls and boys of high school age; for college students; for technical and scientific minded persons; for music lovers; for motion picture fans; and for others which seemingly are designed to serve special interest groups.
7. Make a list of special interest groups which you have observed in your study of advertisements.
8. To what interest groups do you belong? List.
9. List under the headings of Pleasure and of Pain some of the more commonly found appeals to things that most people desire (their interests) and to things that most people wish to avoid (their antipathies). Examples: Pleasure—being in the crowd, luxury, modernity, pleasure in ability, holidays, eating, smoking, drinking, health, sex, curiosity, self-satisfaction, being a success or "popular" in the crowd, etc. Pain—being neglected, fear of old age, ugliness, disease, etc.
10. Find advertisements which show the following special interests that are served by propaganda: commercial, community, political, religious, charity, legal reforms, prohibition.
11. Listen to radio advertising. What, if any, differences do you find between printed and spoken advertisements? Does radio advertising have any appeals

that you do not find in printed advertising in newspapers, magazines, and billboards?

12. In what ways are advertisements helpful to you? List. In what ways are advertisements annoying to you? List. Use these questions to interview other people on the subject—adults, teachers, girls and boys your own age.
13. Make a list of humorous appeals to be found either in written or spoken advertisements. Are they effective? If so, why?
14. List popular advertising slogans, first by memory; secondly, by study of a number of advertisements. Discuss reasons for certain slogans, such as Ivory soap's "It floats," and "99 44/l00% pure" being so well known.
15. To what interests do crossword puzzles, tests, and question and answer features in advertisements appeal?

B. The Problem of Determining Whether Advertising Claims Are True or False

Student Assignments:

A bicycle advertisement shows a schoolboy sitting astride a completely equipped and shining new bicycle. Crowded around him are his friends looking admiringly at him and his new machine. In the background is a small boy looking enviously at the owner of the machine. The copy tells us that once Harry Smith, the proud owner, too was friendless and "neglected" by his playmates. In smaller type the advertisement points out the merits of the machine—its sturdiness, its modern "Streamlines."

1. First, decide what appeals are made in the advertisement. To whom are the appeals made? Then, classify these appeals as direct or indirect appeals.
2. What claims are made by the bicycle advertisement?
3. Do you know if claims for the sturdiness, for the mechanical performance, and for the smooth riding qualities of the machine are true? How do you know”
4. Will ownership of the bicycle fulfill its implied promises—that is, is it likely to bring friends and admiration to a lonely boy? Is it the most desirable way for him to become liked by his playmates? Why was this particular appeal used? Through what particular interests does the advertisement appeal?
5. If you had been writing the advertisement what appeals to interest would you have made?
6. What relationship would lie back of such a claim for the bicycle as the following: "All boys want health and strength Buy this bicycle. This is the way to get health and strength”?

Discussion

Testing of some of the appeals and claims of commercial advertising may reveal mis-statements, lies by indirection, and downright 1ies. Scrutiny will reveal great differences in the relation between appeals to interests and the products advertised. Commercial advertising ranges from bona

fide descriptions of products in some publications, particularly in technical or scientific papers, to blatant misrepresentations and to fraudulent patent medicine advertisements.

Student Exercise

1. Find a similar advertisement to the one described above. Apply the same questions and analysis to it as are applied in the assignment to the bicycle advertisement.
2. Bring to class examples of patent medicine advertisements. Discuss whether their claims are true or false. Are their appeals the same appeals that are usually to be found in other advertisements? How!
3. Find examples of cause and effect relationships in patent medicine and in other advertisements. Discuss the validity of claims or implied claims,
4. Bibliography suggestions: Consumers' Union reports of advertised products. Kallett and Schlinck, 100,000,000 Guinea Pigs.
5. In your study of advertisements do you find that authorities are used to attest to the merit of the product advertised? What persons or things, such as doctors, nurses, educators, laboratories, test tubes are used to show that the product is "approved by the best authorities"? Why are these authorities used”

C. Some Methods Used in Presenting Advertising Appeals

Student Assignments:

Delicately browned and piping hot (you can see by the steam and the rich juice which it oozes) a large T-bone steak lies on a handsome silver platter. It is flanked by succulent spring vegetables and by potatoes laden with butter. In colors, the picture is realistic in its appeals. It advertises not a steak, but a certain kind of soup—exactly the "right kind" of soup to precede such a steak.

1. List appeals made in the advertisement described above.
2. To what senses does the picture appeal?
3. Find other advertisements which appeal to the senses— to the ear, eye, nose, etc.
4. List the media or the ways in which advertising appeals to the senses. Examples: music or the spoken word over the radio, on the motion picture screen, etc.
5. Consider increase in media in the modern world, especially media which can be used for appeals to the senses. Contrast these facilities with those of the world of the Middle Ages.

Student Exercises:

1. Assignments listed above should be worked out and placed in the scrapbook with your notes and comments

Student Assignments:

1. Consider the effectiveness of such methods used in advertising as the following: Large or small advertisements; the type used— light or heavy, large or small, colored or unusual in form; use of color in the advertisement; the picture of a beautiful girl; the picture of a good looking young man; excellent photographic effects; Showing the product in the best light; a picture of the product; appeal to competition, to the desire to be first; letting people in on a secret; a pretty picture quite disconnected from the product advertised.
2. What other methods do you find commonly used in advertisements? List your findings.

Discussion:

After listing methods used in presenting appeals to interests, students should ask why each method is employed. In so doing, it is hoped they will come closer to

discovery of principles of human conduct as those principles are revealed in techniques of propaganda. Class discussion of these principles and student attempts to become articulate about them should be emphasized. Class discussion should also center about such questions as: Do methods used in advertising serve a useful purpose, useful to individuals and to society? How?

Students should consider how tastes and desires are created through advertising appeals. They should realize as they study this aspect of the field that the propagandist is interested solely in the fact that people have or should have desires. Seldom is he interested in why they have desires or the origin of those desires.

Student Exercises:

1. Study the cost of advertising in newspapers and in magazines, over the radio, billboards, subway and street car cards.
2. Find statistics ch show the profit relationship between business enterprise and advertising.
3. Review advertisements which you have studied. Consider appeals to interest through the emotions and appeals to interest through the intellect. Can one be considered predominant? Are they often combined?
4. Write an essay or prepare material for general classroom discussion on "Modern Advertising—Its Appeals."

Student Assignments:

1. Find examples of the following ways in which propagandists can make appeals to desire either directly or indirectly: (1) By saying "Here is what you want; buy it; vote for it." (2) By saying, "Here is the means of getting what you want; buy it; vote for it. (3) By saying "This is like what you want, but cheaper; buy it;" or "This is the opposite of what you want; avoid it."
2. Take a list of good symbols, such as the American flag, the cross of the church, Plymouth Rock, the little red schoolhouse, & statue of Abraham Lincoln. Consider how these are used in current advertisements to bring about emotional associations among readers of advertisements. In your analysis try to see if words also are not related to a whole complex of ideas and emotions in this kind of association.
3. Find examples of repetition in advertisements which may or may not be used to create new psychological connections or associations. Example: "Whenever you see a letter box think of a Waterman fountain pen."

4. Listen to radio advertising in your further study of the technique or repetition. that are the purposes of repetition?
5. Find examples of attempts to build up emotional associations in order to confuse a desire for one thing with that for another? Example: magazine cover photographs of pretty girls; a picture of a family enjoying itself on the beach in California.
6. Can you find examples of pictures which, seemingly, are entirely unrelated to the products advertised? Are they effective' Why?

Discussion:

If we examine symbols, we see that they can mean all things to all men. For example, to certain pressure groups in American life and their propagandists the flag may stand for a great army, a great navy, To others, the flag may mean the responsibility of centralized government for relief, increased opportunity for education, social regulation of banking, business, industry, and labor.

Student Exercises:

1. Study radio and other advertising or propaganda for examples of direct emotional appeal. Consider the power of the orator to arouse fear and to make people abandon their existing desires and desire something different. Wherein does his power lie?
2. Find examples of commercial advertising which use the rational method of asserting that a particular action aimed at realizing a certain desire will have further consequences that are unpleasant. Example: a life insurance advertisement shows a mother and her three young children bereft of all income at the death of the father and family provider.
3. Find examples of appeal to authority. Example: All the best people do this; they know."

D. Evaluation of Methods Used in Presenting Advertising Appeals

Student Assignments:

A toothpaste advertisement attempts to recommend a product by printing a picture of the package along with a picture of a scientist in a laboratory holding up a test tube. Appeal is reduced to the following mongrel form of argument: "you trust science; this article is a product of science; therefore, you should trust this article." The reader is invited to tell himself something precisely because the writer of the advertisement has not completed the statement. It is as if the advertisement were to count up to six, and the reader, getting the cue, "creatively" proceeds to supply seven.

1. Discuss and study valid kinds of argument. Why is the argument in the illustration above considered "bad" argument" How does the reader of such an advertisement participate in the formation of the advertisement's message?
2. Find variants of this kind of argument in written and spoken advertisements. Begin to look for this species in political speeches that you hear over the radio, that you read in the form of newspaper accounts, (Note to the teacher: See Propaganda Devices listed in the November Institute monthly letter.)
3. Fashionable authorities, "snob appeal," and vague general statements, such as that "something is good for you," are, generally, to be considered as bad authorities for acceptance of a product or an idea. Find examples of the use of these appeals or authorities.
4. Read Stuart Chase's article, "The Tyranny of Words," Harper's Magazine, November, 1837
5. Consider why acceptance of a fashionable authority is to accept a dubious authority. Find examples of the use of fashionable authorities. Discuss this question with your study group.
6. Test statements such as: "Sunshine crackers are good for you." What exactly is the statement asserting?
7. Find other examples of vague statements used in commercial advertising and in political speeches and public addresses.

Discussion:

In general classroom discussion consider why the effect of propaganda on an uncritical audience jeopardizes democracy in that it may open the way to the

demagogue. Draw upon supplementary reading in the bibliography to make the discussion of democracy and its responsibilities more fruitful. Consider the following statements. "Propagandists use the misleading tricks they do because they know that these tricks will work. They would not work if people were educated to challenge and to question—to make distinctions between propaganda and evidence, between propaganda and authority, between propaganda and end results." Ask what is meant by evidence, by "good" authority, and by end results.

Student Exercises:

1. Find examples of lack of precision in speech, such as "This is the greatest nation in the world," or "The Japanese are an inferior race." Ask: What do these statements mean? What are these particular claims asserting?
2. In considering such a statement as the foregoing about the Japanese race, ask, "Inferior? How In stature In mentality? In culture? In economic status?"
3. Compare the foregoing statements with familiar advertising slogans such as "Guinness beer is best." What is meant by "best"? "Best" for what? Why is it "best'?
4. Find examples of lack of evidence in commercial advertisements and in political speeches. For example, if you are asked, "Are Negroes more intelligent than white persons?" you are justified in whatever ideas you may hold only if you know the evidence, the figures and statistics—or if you know the authority for such statements and the merit of that authority.
5. Test authorities cited in commercial and political propagandas by asking:
 1. Is the authority scientific in his methods; that is, does he begin with hypotheses which he holds only as hypotheses until they are documented by research—facts, figures, statistics;
 2. Does the authority have any important self-interest at stake?
 3. Are you accepting the authority simply because he is a fashionable authority; if so, why is he fashionable? Does the reason in any impair his authoritativeness?
6. Make a scrapbook list of popular beliefs based on lack of evidence. These beliefs may be economic, social, or racial. Make a corresponding list of superstitions which still exist, of superstitions which existed a century ago—for example, the New England belief in witchcraft. (In reviewing popular beliefs of Americans you will find Carl Sandburg's "The People, Yes," both helpful and interesting.)

7. Find out at least three ways in which psychologists and sociologists collect what they consider to be evidence.
8. In working with questions of lack of precision in speech and lack of evidence, consider what differences there are between opinion on and fact.

E. Why People Think and Act as They Do

Student Assignment:

1. Summarize the work you have done with advertisements and with political speeches by making a representative list of appeals to interest through the emotions and through reason to which most people generally respond.
2. Consider how and why people respond to these appeals. Is it because of (1) the form in which such desires express themselves? Environment is usually the reason for such preferences. Sometimes for environment we may substitute particular previous experiences which people have had. Is it because of (2) the establishment in people of new desires, such as for certain modes of dress at a beach resort, or the establishment of new dislikes because of unhappy experiences? Is it because of (3) certain "long range" wants, shaped partly by environment and partly by people's being given things that enter into their habits and which they come not to want to be without; or by their being encouraged by approval or discouraged by disapproval when they act in particular ways; or by their being told things are good or bad? Clarify your findings in essay form.
3. Consider how people's behavior may be influenced by changing material conditions, such as climate, poverty, sudden riches, and by groups who have different attitudes towards them and their behavior, Give illustrations.

Discussion:

Consider the constant change in our physical surroundings, how the earth itself changes with the washing away of high mountains and the emerging and submerging of coast lines. Consider, too, man's conquest of his material world—the growth of technology, changes in production of the food he eats, the clothes he wears, the houses in which he lives, and the means by which he travels. (Note to the teacher: Much of the material given in the analysis in Divisions I, II, and III may be used to advantage here.)

Student Exercise

1. Student assignments in Section E should be incorporated in the work book, They are most important because soon we must strive to define propaganda in our own words. Can you do it now? Try it.
2. List and account for several changes which you have noted in your own desires. Were any of these changes due to propaganda, as you think of the term?

3. From your study of history or social science, cite several instances in which whole nations of people, because of propaganda, have "changed their minds". change in public opinion, from 1916 to 1917, concerning America's entry into the World War. (Note to the teacher: Students of propaganda will find it extremely valuable from the standpoint of appreciating the power of propaganda to study the change in public opinion brought about by the deluge of propagandas which swept the United States and brought about our entry into the World War.)
4. All students of propaganda and especially those in an English literature class should study the famous speech of Mark Antony in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, Act III, Scene II. Examples of propaganda used by Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare's drama are also powerful expositions of propaganda at work. Follow this study by seeking parallels among political speeches and public addresses of today.

Student Assignment:

In review of advertisements which you have studied, ask the following questions concerning your own reactions to specific advertisements: To which advertisements do I respond as the advertiser obviously wishes me to respond? Do I want the product advertised? Do I know why I want it? Do I know why I want certain things and do not want others? Have I been told certain things are "good" and that others are "bad"? Does the advertisement make me want something new, or has it heightened a desire I have had for some time? Would my parents respond in the same way to the advertisement? Would most of my friends? Which ones? Would girls want the advertised product? Would boys want it? Does where I live, in city or country, in East or West, in North or South, have anything to do with my wants and interests? Do the following have any connection with why and how the advertisement appeals to me: my parents, my home, my sisters and brothers, my church or Sunday School my school or teachers, my friends, motion pictures I have seen, newspapers and books I have read, radio broadcasts I have heard, other people I have seen?

Discussion:

Generally, it may be said, people hold certain desires, beliefs, opinions, prejudices, and ideals because they are what they are biologically; because they are Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Catholics, or Jewish; because they live or have lived in the East, the West, the South, the Middle West, or in the country or the city; because their families have comparatively modest or comparatively high incomes; because they have suffered much or little illness; because they are Republicans, Democrats,

Socialists, or Communists. The list of reasons could be extended indefinitely. however, these are generalizations which do not hold true for all people.

If people study themselves, they often see that they are constantly defending themselves and their desires, beliefs, prejudices, and ideals. Unconsciously most people feel that not to do so would be to "lose face," to lose prestige in the eyes of persons around them. The propagandist knows this; he presents his appeals accordingly, knowing that they wall not be successful unless people are ready to receive them.

Student Exercises:

1. This is a major assignment. After working carefully and thoughtfully with the foregoing materials, especially those in Section E, "Why People Think and Act as They Do," write your autobiography. A suggested title is: "'Why I Am What I Am." (Note to the teacher: In preparation for writing of student autobiographies, general discussion should be held on each point of the subject matter in Section E.)

The Political Speech or Public Address

Because the political speech or public address in so many ways employs the same appeals as do commercial advertisements, much of the work outlined for the analysis of advertisements may be adapted for an intensive study of speeches and addresses. Many exercises and assignments in the section devoted to the commercial advertisement includes scrutiny of political speeches. However, in addition to these, students should study many more concrete examples of political speeches or public addresses. Following procedures outlined in their study of commercial advertisements, they should make: (1) classifications according to appeals that they find in political speeches; and (2) classifications according to methods that they find. As they build up these classifications, bring pupils to recognize that several are possible; this is true of appeals used by commercial advertisers; it is even more prevalent among appeals made by political speakers.

In addition to the building of these classifications, pupils should work with renewed interest in the field of the political speech: in attempting to determine whether claims are true or false; in the challenging of authorities; in the testing of methods of argument; in scrutiny of evidence or detection of lack of evidence; and in the questioning of vague statements and promises. Girls and boys are aware that in the field of commercial propaganda money has been spent to get profit returns, that an advertiser uses certain appeals to people's interests in order to sell his products. On the other hand, in the field of political propaganda they must be brought to see that political speakers will almost always attempt to hide the fact that they have propagandists—that they have "something to sell." It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a politician kisses babies or pats little boys on the head or dedicates a community cornerstone because he is a human and kindly person or simply to promote his political ideas and aspirations. Furthermore, girls and boys in a democracy should be aware that the potential effects of political propaganda are far more serious in their impact upon their lives and upon the status of their country as a whole than are the effects of commercial propaganda. It may not make much difference whether people drink Maxwell House coffee or Hill's Brother's coffee; but if they accept the propaganda and if they follow the leadership of a Huey Long and act as he would have them act, the consequences may be far reaching for them and for our democracy.

Instruments of Propaganda

Suggested Analysis of the Newspaper, the Radio, the Newsreel for the Student

Not the least important factor in any intelligent evaluation of propaganda are the media through which the propagandist reaches—us: the newspaper, the radio, the newsreel. Theoretically, of course, the function of these media is merely to inform us of the facts concerning any particular situation, and of the conclusions which opposing propagandists would have us draw from them. In short, they are supposed to present all sides, without bias, without prejudice, as objectively as possible, and to let us make up our minds for ourselves.

Actually, this does not always happen. For the newspaper, the radio, and the newsreel sometimes carry on propaganda themselves, not merely when they are editorializing, but even when they are "just reporting facts." And sometimes they are so taken in by propagandists as to report propaganda as substantiated fact.

This is not to say that newspapers, the radio, and the newsreel are "tools of the interests," as some critics aver—nor that generally they are ruled by their advertisers, who determine what they shall report and how they shall report it. That may be true of some newspapers, some radio stations. However, it by no means is true of all, or even of a significant number.

It must be understood, however, that newspapers, the radio, and the newsreel are the products of human beings, who are subject to various pressures—on their pocketbooks, on their sympathies, on their credulities, etc. — just like other human beings. Some of these pressures are contradictory; some are stronger than others. They all interact. And the way in which they interact will determine the nature of the particular newspaper, radio station, or newsreel company.

What are these forces? Consider a newspaper, for example. Why does a man publish a newspaper?

He might do it for several reasons. He might be in the newspaper business primarily for profit, as one might be in the grocery business, or the clothing business. In that case, he would be concerned with selling as many papers as he could, with getting as many advertising contracts as possible. Or he might have gone into the newspaper business to foster political ambitions. He might, therefore, be willing to lose money on his paper so long as he could use it to promote his candidacy for office. Or he might have a "cause" of some kind. Here, again, he might be ready to sacrifice profits in the interests of what he believes to be "for the good of the people."

Some newspapers are owned by groups of people who use them to foster their views. The Communist Party maintains the Daily Worker for this reason. Christian Scientists maintain the Christian Science Monitor. These papers have often lost great sums of money. Their supporters have made the losses good from their own pockets, simply because they are more concerned with spreading their views than with money.

Occasionally a business man or a business concern will maintain a newspaper to make profits for their other business interests. At one time many power companies purchased newspapers in order to propagandize against public control of private utilities.

Here it should be remembered that a man or a group may own a newspaper for a combination of reasons. The politically ambitious publisher may also want to publicize his other business interests. William Randolph Hearst is an example. Or the man who has gone into the newspaper business for profits may also have a "cause," as, for example, did the late Joseph Pulitzer, or the late E. W. Scripps. A desire to male profits and to serve the community are not always incompatible. Often they are complementary. When they conflict, however, the actions of the publisher usually will depend upon the particular situation, and upon which desire is the stronger.

Now it can readily be understood that a newspaper like the Daily Worker or the Christian Science Monitor will not generally report events and speeches which conflict with their views, with Communism or with Christian Science. Nor will the politically ambitious publisher always present his political opponents in as favorable a light as they desire. Nor will the paper that is owned by the power company report the arguments of proponents of public regulation as fully and fairly as it might.

The publisher is not the sole individual who determines the nature of his newspaper, however. His readers also have a voice. If he is concerned with making profits, he cannot flout their wishes forever because they may cease to buy his paper and, when they do, business men will cease to advertise. J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia Record, was forced to retreat (though only temporarily) from his pro-Spanish Loyalist stand when Philadelphia Catholics started a movement to boycott the paper. Again, when Mr. William Randolph Hearst still had political ambitions his newspapers were violently in favor of social reform. Mr. Hearst realized that he could more easily gain the favor of his readers—most of them workers—if he were "a friend of the working man." Now that Mr. Hearst is less

concerned with politics than with ms far-flung business interests, his capers are less concerned with "befriending the working man."

The reader influences his newspaper in far more subtle ways. For example, the newspaper whose readers are for the most part Democrats would give much greater emphasis to speeches by Democratic leaders than Republican leaders, not from any desire to promote the Democratic Party necessarily, but primarily because the editor realizes that Democrats would probably be more interested in what a Democrat had to say. The newspaper whose readers are fairly well-to-do would give more emphasis to news that affects businessmen, or to speeches by leading businessmen than would the paper with a large circulation among housewives, stenographers, taxi drivers, elevator men, etc., like the New York Daily News.

The editor and the reporter also wield great influence. They report the news, write it, generally determine where it should be placed in the paper. To a great extent they are motivated by a desire to present as complete a picture of the world as they can, as objective a picture as they can. They risk their lives for this purpose. (See: Autobiographies of Linton Wells, Vincent Sheean, Walter Duranty, Lincoln Stephens, Webb Miller). They work long hours for low pay. On the other hand, they are human, with prejudices, hates, likes, dislikes, points of view, all of which are likely to be reflected in what they write. They have friends, who give them news, and whom they are loath to antagonize, not only because they are friends but also because, if antagonized, they will no longer give them news. They want to curry favor with their employers—he publishers—and so will often write their stories to please the publisher rather than to present what they personally consider a more unbiased account. Oswald Garrison Villard, in reviewing The Washington Correspondents by Leo C. Rosten, commented that when he was publisher of the New York Evening Post his staff knew that he didn't like to read certain stories, and so didn't write them. As Mr. Villard said, it was only natural.

On the other hand, many reporters have great influence with their publishers. Furthermore, by digging up stories which completely blasted some of their publisher's ideas, reporters have been able completely to change the policy of their paper on a particular issue.

Now what of the advertiser? The advertiser has influence, but not as great as is generally supposed. On a small paper, with shaky finances, one advertiser may have great power: he may be able to bankrupt the paper withdrawing his ads. Large papers, with numerous advertising contracts, however, can afford to antagonize one advertiser, or two or three. And they do. The German government, aroused by stories that Frederick T. Birchall had been writing for the New York Times,

threatened to withdraw all advertising by German firms from that paper. The Times told Germany to go right ahead. The Times had confidence that that Birchall had written was true, and it wasn't going to print falsehoods simply for the sake of a little added revenue.

There is also the actual technique of journalism to be considered—the conditions under which newspaper men work, and the way in which they work. One has already Seen mentioned—the necessity to please the people on whom the reporter is dependent for his news. There is also the factor of censorship. News from Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and dozens of other countries, is subject to censorship. The reporter who covers those countries, therefore, cannot always write exactly as he wants to. For this reason, the newspaper reader cannot always be sure that what he reads is the truth, even though he knows that the particular reporter who wrote the story is generally reliable, as is the newspaper in which it was printed. News of the Spanish Civil War falls into this category, for both sides, and particularly the Insurgents, have been very stringent in their censorship.

Even more important, newspapers, by their very nature, given a one-sided picture of certain events. They print NEWS, what happened. What didn't happen is rarely their concern. In the case of a strike, if there is violence, the papers all run long stories; if there is none, the papers may print a few paragraphs, or nothing at all. Thus, the newspaper reader will learn of strikes only when there has been a riot of some kind, and he will identify strikes with violence. The paper may consciously be propagandizing against strikes, consciously attempting to male its readers antagonistic toward strikes. On the other hand, it may be vigorously pro-labor. In either case, often the result will be the same. Because what happened is news and what didn't happen is not, the newspaper reader will begin to associate all labor unions with violence and bloodshed.

And lastly, it must again be emphasized that newspapers are the product of human beings, subject to all the frailties and idiosyncrasies of human beings. The publisher is a business man, with all the worries of any business men—taxation, labor troubles, and the like. He is naturally interested greatly in news about taxation, in news about labor troubles, and his papers will print a great deal of it—more perhaps than most of their readers care about. The publisher of a great Eastern paper has a relative of whom she is very proud and who belongs to a regiment of the National Guard. The paper always prints full accounts of what that regiment does. Another publisher has a relative who is physically handicapped. Developments in science affecting the physically handicapped, news of hospitals for the physically handicapped are treated extensively in that paper. The publisher of a

famous mid-Western paper has a phobia about snakes. The reptiles are never mentioned in his paper. One Eastern paper, which is justly noted for its complete, sparkling news coverage and which devotes much space to news of science, never mentions the cosmic ray. The publisher thinks cosmic rays are just a figment of some crack-pot scientists' weird imagination.

Editors, newspaper reporters, newspaper readers also have these likes and dislikes. And they also influence the newspaper. A paper in a strongly religious town doesn't often print news unfavorable to religion. When the old New York World printed Vincent Sheean's pro-Arab stories about the riots in Palestine some years ago, its circulation fell off drastically, and there were huge demonstrations in front of the World building.

So, when you read your newspaper, o so with the realization that it may not always be presenting the news objectively, but that often it may be perverting it somewhat in the interests of the publisher, or in conformity with his prejudices and the prejudices of its editor, its staff, and its readers. Attempt to discover what these interests and prejudices are, so that you can detect them in the stories that you read, and know how to discount them. Be critical of news from other nations. Watch the editorial policy of your paper to see whether it may not be reflected in the news columns to an unwarranted extent.

Insofar as you have any influence as a reader, attempt to make your paper less biased, more complete. Never attempt to have news suppressed. On the contrary, support the paper when it refuses to suppress news; criticize it when it suppresses or perverts. A letter to the editor sometimes will have great effect, if well-reasoned, well-written, friendly, not carping.

If there is more than one paper in your town, read the one that gives you the most complete and most accurate news coverage, not the one with the most comics or with the most sensational news. You want your paper to inform you of all the conflicts that are going on in the world, not only to entertain you. And you want it to give all sides of these conflicts so that you can make up your mind for yourself. You don't want it to propagandize you.

What has been said for newspapers goes equally well for the radio and the newsreel. Be critical about them. Weigh one against the other in an effort to get as true a picture of world events as possible. Always realize that sometimes they are propagandizing as well as informing, and try as best you can to separate the propaganda from the information.

The Church and the School

(Note to the Teacher)

The church and the school warrant special attention as agencies of propaganda because of the universality of their presence in community life throughout the United States and because of their power in molding the desires, interests, beliefs, and ideals of millions of young people. In building much needed analyses of the roles of the school in modern society for students, the teacher will find helpful material in such bibliography references as Dr. George S. Counts', Dare the Schools Build a New

Social Order, Howard Beale's Are American Teachers Free, Dr. R. Bruce Raup's Education and Organized Interests in America, and Dr. Edgar Knight's Education in the United States. In addition to working with such an analysis of | the school as the individual teacher may make, students E should consider the following propaganda instruments of their particular schools: the school newspaper and yearbook, student assemblies, clubs, addresses of guest speakers, principal's bulletins and speeches, posters in halls and rooms, athletics, classroom discussions, homeroom discussions, and textbooks.

To bring girls and boys to further awareness of the propaganda role of the school, teachers may find it worthwhile to bring students to analyze steps in a propaganda program operating in their own school. This may be a program launched by the principal, the superintendent, the national government, an educational association, a civic organization, a national patriotic association, or a club within the school itself.

Similar steps should be taken in an analysis of the role of the church in modern society. These can be followed by study of newspaper accounts of religious and church activities, by study of religious magazines and other publications, and by analyses of public addresses and pronouncement

Organized Groups in Society

(Note to the teacher)

Drawing up a list of organized groups in American society is necessarily rather arbitrary. There are so many of them. Some have been mentioned under the section on "Interests Served by Propaganda"; others have been brought out in the suggested analyses of the newspaper, the radio, the newsreel.

However, to make students aware of the complexity of the society in which they live and of the battle of propagandas going on about them, it should prove helpful for

them to draw up a list of some of the organized groups in this country. Such a 1list would grow as they study the daily newspaper or the weekly magazine. Organizations would fall under such classifications as: business men's organizations, such as the National American Manufacturers' Association, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the American Iron and Steel Institute; trade unions, such as the Teacher's Union, the Musician's Union, and the American Newspaper Guild; patriotic organizations, such as the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars; civic organizations, such as the Elks, Masonic Lodge, and Knights of Columbus; and great labor unions such as the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization with their affiliated trade unions and craft unions.

Study of propagandas emanating from one or several of these organized groups makes excellent study project material for advanced high school students and college students.

The following skeleton analysis of organizations which have become specialists in propaganda is designed to serve as a guide for the teacher in working out analyses of other organized propaganda groups in society, and as expository material for the use of students in a course of study in propaganda analysis.

Specialists in Propaganda

(A suggested analysis for high school students)

It has been noted that newspapers, the radio, and the newsreels are often the victims of propagandists themselves, hoodwinked into reporting propaganda as substantiated fact. And, indeed, this is only to be expected, for propagandists have developed such amazing skill that even the most alert editor cannot always detect their hand in the mass of newspaper stories that come to his desk each day. For this skill propagandists receive huge sums. The Chinese Government, for example, is paying one public relations firm (as propaganda organizations are called) $50,000 a month to create sympathy in this country for China in the present war in the Far East. Often the job of the public relations firm is a simple and legitimate one, and one which is helpful to newspapers and newspaper readers—to make public the facts concerning an organization, business firm, or product. Often, however, the public relations is engaged to put something across. In such cases, it may resort to subterfuge; it may suppress facts or pervert them. It may create events that serve to color falsely the newspaper reader's picture of what is happening in the world. It may even spread downright lies.

Consider, for example, this propaganda campaign, which, accidentally, was an eminently successful one:

A prominent business man had purchased considerable property in a certain state during a real estate boom there, and when the boom collapsed he was left with the property on his hands. A New York public relations firm was retained. It decided to make the state a winter resort. inter vacationers, it realized, would cause business to boom and therefore raise property values. So the firm contacted wealthy socialites and offered them a vacation in the state with all expenses paid. There were no strings attached; many of the society people accepted the offer.

Soon newspapers began to receive pictures of wealthy and beautiful society women basking in the sun at ----- Such pictures are legitimate news. The newspapers printed them. And every time they printed them, mention of the place where the pictures were taken was made. Newspaper readers gained the impression that it must be a wonderful place since all these wealthy people seemed to be flocking there, and so newspaper readers started to go there also.

The public relations firm made golf fans, unable to participate in their favorite sport in the North during the winter, the subject of a special appeal. The business man was induced to stage a golf tourney in the state, and offer a large prize, through his wife, to the winner. The prize attracted same of the country's best golfers, who, in turn, attracted the leading sports writers. The attendant publicity for the tourney publicized the state in which it was held, attracted thousands of golf fans.

This was a long and involved campaign. Sometimes, though, propagandists, because of their knowledge of the psychology of propaganda, can mold public opinion with a very simple trick. Western Union's propaganda is an example of ‘this. Hired by that firm to boost its business, Edward L. Bernays suggested that delivery boys, paging the recipient of a telegram in a hotel lobby or delivering a telegram at someone's home, say, "Western Union for Mr. -----" instead of "Telegram for Mr. -----." Hearing the phrase, "Western Union for Mr. -----" over and over again, people began to identify Western Union with telegram. Whenever they thought of sending a telegram, they thought of Western Union. And the company's business increased.

Public relations firms are well aware of the penchant of the average person for "following the leader.” The prominent business man, the educator, the society woman are respected. Ordinary people listen respectfully to what they have to say, ape them in dress, action, even ideas. So, if the public relations man is attempting to publicize some cause, he forms a committee of group Leaders. The fact that Mr. X, prominent banker, is sponsoring a certain movement will induce numerous less

prominent individuals to join it. The fact that Mrs. Z, beautiful society leader, wears a certain type of hat will cause any number of housewives to wear it too.

Even philanthropy is sometimes partially a publicity stunt. The late John D. Rockefeller at one time was the most hated business man in America. There were boycotts of his products. Legislation designed to curb his business was enacted in Congress. Mr. Rockefeller engaged Ivy Lee, who advised him to donate large sums to various philanthropies. Reading about these donations in their newspapers, people softened toward Rockefeller, began to feel that any man who did so much to aid the less fortunate couldn't really be so bad, regardless of his business methods. And by the time Mr. Rockefeller died he was among the most revered business men in America.

Mr. Rockefeller's famous penchant for giving away dimes also was the creation of Mr. Lee. The "Oil King" had formerly been looked upon as some predatory monster, The idiosyncrasy made him actually human. Furthermore, by giving away dimes, Mr. Rockefeller dramatized an idea—the idea that anybody could become wealthy if he saved his money. And this idea helped to counteract prejudice against men of wealth.

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